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CHAPTER II

Semitic Society

Reunification of Settled Peoples

● 174 The Biblical figures of Cain the agriculturalist and Abel the shepherd symbolize the two distinct social groups of the Middle East, the settled and the nomadic.

Since the beginning of history the sedentary and roving elements of the population have represented two hostile camps, fighting and despising one another. In spite of frequent warfare, the mutual contact between the two societies resulted in evolutionary processes of transformation, the nomad gradually settling down to an agricultural existence and the cultivator occasionally taking up or resuming nomadic habits.

X 166 While at present the transition is as a rule from nomadism to sedentarization, we know of cases in history where settled people have become nomads. This latter point must be emphasized because the statement has been made [1] that "there does not appear to be a case where a tribe has reversed the process, settled people becoming nomads." This statement is contradicted by several authorities on tribal life in Syria, Iraq, Palestine and Transjordan. Commandant Victor Miller observed [2] that the Jeiboun in the Euphrates area in Syria seem to have lost interest in cultivation and reverted back to nomadism. The Mandatory Report of 1937 also states [3] that certain tribes of the Hama-Homs region,

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1. Kirkbride, 1945, March-April
2. Miller, 1931, p.
3. Report, 1937, p. 106

221 wandering area. The radius of migration is determined by:

a. the strength of the tribe

b. the supply of water and grazing areas within the circle

c. the amount and type of livestock reared by the group

d. the relationship of the tribal unit to the soil

Weaker tribes are not free to move over extended areas for fear of being exposed to attacks by more powerful tribes. Their wandering territory is limited and usually in the vicinity of the cultivated land.

221 233 The true desert Bedouin of Arabia, pre-occupied exclusively with camel-breeding,[1] is in a position to cover great distances due to the mobility of the camel. As sheep and goats enter the economic life of the Bedouin, the radius of migration has to be reduced since the milk has to remain close to watering places.

Further restrictions occur when occasional cultivation forces the nomad to stay in the vicinity of the land which he has tilled.

Historical migrations

● 174 Besides the wanderings of the nomads in annual cycles to satisfy the grazing needs of their herds and flocks, there were in history great eruptions which occurred sporadically[2] and

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1. The definition of a true Bedouin is according to Tawvia Abbasnasir: a nomad who is engaged in camel-breeding exclusively and who traces his descent from certain tribes recognized as true Bedouin (cf. Abbasnasir, 1948, p. 236). The Bedouin looks down on the sheep- and goat nomad who is bound to sources of water. The restrictions of migratory rules are according to Bedouin psychology an interference with personal freedom. At present, exclusive camel-keeping is rare except in Arabia.
2. Arnold Toynbee has set up 600 year cycles for the occasional nomadic eruptions. (cf. Toynbee, 1934, pp. 398 sqq.)

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swept at times whole continents.

In the Arab world these were the large-scale migrations which occurred under the inspiration of religious founders or reformers such as Mohammed and Abd-el Wahhab. The tribes became the mainsprings of great social and political movements.

It seems quite possible that even at the bottom of these wide-spread migrations and invasions of neighboring countries lay economic factors. A few successive seasons of deficient rainfall and subsequent famine in the Arabian desert will make the over-populous existence of the Bedouin impossible and force renewal migrations.

According to the theory of Gautard [1] followed by modern critical scholars, the Arabian Islamic expansion had underlying economic causes. Arabian Bedouin were consumed to a holy war by arousing their desire for the booty to be taken from the enemies.

Islamic expansion constituted a series of waves of migrations carrying the surplus population of the barren Arabian peninsula to the fertile regions on its borders.

The North has always attracted the over-hungry Bedouin of the Arabian desert, the movement only gained momentum in the era of early Islamic conquests.

It is certain that exceptionally inclement weather conditions with subsequent famine in the desert caused in the 10th and beginning of the 11th century the large-scale migrations of the powerful

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1. Gautard, 1925-27, pp. [illegible]

174 Chapter and Joseph groups from the Arabian desert into the more fertile steppes of Transjordan and Syria.

CHAPTER IV

Tribal Society and the Modern Arab State

619 GAI Semitic society, characterized by specific mental, political and economic concepts, is incompatible, and hence often in conflict with the state and its institutions.

Social

Bedouin society is tribal, based on blood relationships, not recognizing any other ties. Its social customs are the result of adaptation to hard life and desert monotony. The concepts of "people" and "nation" are foreign to the nomad whose social outlook is limited to his tribe.

Political

"The characteristic socio-political trait of the nomadic tribe is the lack of political organization or political institutions." [1] The political body is the tribe, governed is loosely organized by the sheikh and the Council of Elders. Unwritten desert law and custom are its judicial authority. The authority of the State is not recognized.

Economic

The pastoral economy sets the nomads apart from the majority of the POPULATION ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE.

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1. Patai, 1952

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of the population engaged in agriculture.[1]

The nomads are only concerned with their social, political and economic orders; settled society interests them only negatively, as objects of raid and plunder. The nomads of the Syrian desert have a deeper understanding for the happenings in the far-off Arabian desert than for the life in Damascus in the vicinity of which they may be encamped. Hence the general indifference of the Bedouin to all ideas and movements that originate in the Arab Cities.

The modern Arab states of the Middle East, sensitive about their sovereignty, thus had to come into conflict with the tribal elements within their political boundaries. They felt that the stability of the administration was undermined so long as the tribes could not be reached by tax-collectors, census takers, and could not be subjected to military conscription and state jurisdiction.

Since the political partitioning of the Syrian desert after the First World War it has become increasingly difficult to exercise effective control over the tribes. For four centuries the Syrian desert was continuously in the hands of a single power, the Ottoman Empire. Inefficient as the Turkish administration may have been, its ubiquity placed it in a position to impose its authority on a recalcitrant tribe, which at present can easily escape the jurisdiction of one state simply by slipping across the nearest frontier.

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1. In the Middle East livestock-breeding and agriculture are two distinct economies, the former practiced by the nomads, the latter by the fellahin.

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166 following military invasions is to a considerable extent the
178 outcome of social contact.

In another part of this paper it will be shown how planned, external stimuli such as government interference, are affecting Bedouin settlement, but the following pages will discuss the phenomenon of the spontaneous internal, socio-economic change.

174 Tribes in the service of the early Islamic conquerors and the Umayyad princes began to settle down as they became garrison troops in the conquered territories and ultimately the military administrators of the provinces. They established themselves in the vicinity of the villages and cities in order to keep an eye on the subject people. In the great adventure of conquest the Bedouin mode of life went overboard. A different climate may have forced the nomads to change over to breeding other types of livestock. Cruder weather conditions may have obliged them to abandon the tent for more solid living quarters. In spite of the Bedouin's scornful attitude towards the settled people the next step was usually a growing interest in the agricultural society around them and a gradual imitation of its habits and activities.

On the whole it can be observed that while in the Arabian Desert Bedouin society seems incapable of undergoing any change whatsoever, in the steppe near cultivated areas it is destined to decay and disappear. [1]

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1. Montagne, 1947, pp.112-113

Iraq BEDOUINS MJ4

The conditions of land tenure in Arabia are obscure. Most of 423
the land is still utilized by the nomadic tribes for grazing their flocks. When the settlers are assigned land, it is not clarified who holds the title, the state, the tribe or the individual cultivator.

Although Arabia is still predominantly pastoral, the nomadic 361
character of the population is being rapidly changed as the result 166x
of government action and under the impact of increasing contact with the West.

Iraq (Mesopotamia)[1]

Iraq has a history of sedentarization that goes back to the 174 ●
19th century when the Turks began to take steps towards reducing 166x
the nomads to a sedentary agricultural existence.

Up to 1869 it was the Bedouin policy of the Ottoman authorities to crush or settle the tribes, to break or assimilate their leaders.[2] Government action, however, was not accompanied by any concrete plans of providing for the Bedouin alternate means of maintenance.

Midhat Pasha, who became Vali of Baghdad in 1869, approached the issue more constructively. He viewed tribal settlement as an agrarian problem. Bedouin cultivation was encouraged by the sale of state-land on reasonable terms. Midhat Pasha felt that only settlement can permanently solve the tribal problem. He was con-

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1. Certain parts of former Mesopotamia like Deir ez-Zor belong to modern Syria. When an instance of armed settlement in the Deir ez-Zor area refers to times previous to the establishment of modern Iraq it was included in this chapter although the locality may be now Syrian territory.
2. Ireland, 1938, p. 90

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viewed that once tied to the soil the Bedouin would change their mode of life and become orderly subjects of the Sultan.

The efforts to effect sedentarization had a certain amount of success in the district south of Baghdad where small tribes began to till the soil.[1] Progress was also made among the powerful Muntefik tribesmen of whom Lady Blunt tells that they have 'recently become industrious fellahin.'[2] If Lady Blunt's account is correct, the Muntefik represent the exception rather than the rule. The other large tribes, particularly the Shammar and Aneseh could in no way be persuaded to engage in the 'distasteful' occupation of tillage.

Of the Shi'a (a tribe of the Aneseh confederation) whom Adam Pasha, the Mutesarrif of Deir ez-Zor,[3] forced to settle in the Euphrates valley, it is told[4] that as long as the soldiers kept an eye on the Bedouin, they remained in the villages. When the troops left, the settlements were abandoned and nomadic existence resumed. The Bedouin policy of the Ottoman government during the 19th century consisted of attempts to settle the Bedouin and to detach the sheikhs who were the rallying point of anti-administration forces from an exclusively tribal setting and win them over to the government. Encouragement of settlement did not show an appreciable amount of success. The tribesmen could not be

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1. Blunt, 1879, pp. 376 seq.
2. Ibid.
3. In Ottoman times Deir ez-Zor was an independent sanjaq, unattached to any vilayet and hence not accountable to a Vali, the Mutesarrif was directly answerable to the Sultan.
4. Blunt, 1879, pp. 376 - 377

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• 174 induced to take up agriculture, the hard lot of the village
1166 cultivator and the traditional attitude of contempt for settled life were the chief drawbacks.

Midhat Pasha had made a constructive approach, but his settlement policy failed because the traditional behavior of the Bedouin was not taken into consideration and the land grants were made to the sheikhs and not to the individual tribesmen.[1] This became often the cause of much trouble and dissatisfaction. The disturbances which occurred at the turn of the century and after in the Mosul area, were attributed to the fact that all the arable land of the tribes became concentrated in the hands of a few powerful sheikhs who oppressed their fellow tribesmen.[2]

On the other hand, the attempt to drive a wedge into the tribal organization by detachment of leadership from the rank and file began slowly to bear fruit during the 19th century. Powerful sheikhs were given land, annual subsidies and honorific titles. It was the hope of the administration that the tribal leaders would become the heads of agriculture communities and loyal supporters of the central government. In the beginning this policy was frustrated by the sheikhs who were not yet willing to abandon tribalism.

But in the latter part of the 19th century tribal leaders in Iraq began to evince a growing interest in cultivation. Grain

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1. Ireland, 1938, p. 92
2. Ibid. p. 93

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had become a profitable cash crop and many sheikhs were induced to change from stock-breeding to cereal-growing which was more lucrative.[1] But a declining desert economy, but the desire for money was the cause of the change.

After the revolution of 1908 the Young Turks re-affirmed 166X the policy of settling the nomads on land. The Vali of Baghdad 622 was instructed to formulate a scheme for the settlement of the tribes.

The sheikhs were divided in their attitudes, a great number definitely hostile to the policy of the government, others, bought by gifts of land and titles, ready to co-operate.

The Young Turks, anxious to assert their exclusive political power and authority, had tried, wherever possible, to crush the influence of the powerful sheikhs. Hence their hostility to government-sponsored settlement schemes.

The British Mandatory Government was not concerned with 648 settling the nomads. When the British came to Iraq, it became 166X their ground Mandate policy to rebuild tribal organization under competent sheikhs. They set about to strengthen the power of the sheikhs whose authority over the tribesmen had been partially broken by the Young Turk administration. Landholdings of the tribal leaders were protected, large subsidies and tax exemptions granted.

WHILE BRITISH TRIBAL POLICY WAS RESTRICTED TO GIVING EMIRATES

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1 Warriner, 1948, pp. 103 seq.

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Transjordan (Jordan)

Since the Bedouin invasions of the seventh century Trans- 361
jordan has been a country of nomads. According to statistics the majority of the people are settled, but in reality even the sedentary population of Transjordan is to a certain extent tribal-nomadic, and the inhabitants of the towns and villages south of Ajloun [1] share with the Bedouin their language, customs and tribal organization.

Not all the nomads of Transjordan are of Bedouin origin, many of them having descended from settled fellahin who gradually adopted Bedouin patterns of living. This unique phenomenon, not found to such an extent in any other region of the Middle East, is not limited to the Muslim community. Christians, settled in the towns of Salt, Kerak and Madaba, found it necessary or convenient to form themselves into nomadic tribes and take up a pastoral mode of existence. [2]

The pages of Transjordan history during the 19th century are 174
filled with the inter-tribal wars which were fought between the Adwan and Beni Sakhr. The Beni Sakhr captured all lands of Eastern Belqa and forced the Adwan back to the Jordan valley. They left the fellahin to continue the cultivation of the land in return for an annual tribute. [3] The tribesmen returned to

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1. With the exception of places like Amman where most inhabitants are newcomers.
2. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 184
3. Ibid., p. 237

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• 174 their nomadic life in the desert, raising camels, sheep and goats.

The first to become interested in agriculture was Sheikh Sattam ibn Fais. Although he personally remained a wandering nomad with his Beni Sakhr tribesmen, he attended to the supervision of his estates at Umm el-'Amed, north east of Madaba.

361 241 Fare Jaussen reported in 1908 [1] that already at that time small tribes [2] of Gilead, the Jordan valley, Balqa and northern Moab were engaged in agricultural work.

423 425 Most of the cultivable tracts of the tribal land had already prior to the First World War become the private property of the sheikhs who acquired those lands simply by occupying them [3] as they belonged to nobody. Another method of increasing land-holdings was by encroachment on adjacent fields and putting them under cultivation. By this latter system a large territory, originally belonging to the Adwan, was acquired by Sheikh Sattam and his sons. [4] After World War I many sheikhs purchased Ciftlik land [5] from the government on favorable terms.

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1. Jaussen, 1908, pp. 273-6 and pp. 240-55
2. All the tribes of Transjordan are small when compared with the powerful Iraqi and Syrian tribes such as the Ruala (4 250 tents) or the Shu'a (3 400 tents) cf. Fisher, 1950, p. 116. The Beni Sakhr, the largest tribe of Transjordan, has about 1 140 tents.
3. They set foot on a certain terrain, belonging to nobody (ارض) and declared it personal property (ارض) by virtue of occupation.
4. Jaussen, 1908, pp. 136-7
5. Ciftlik is the land which had belonged to the Turkish Sultan and become government property after World War I.

I. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait
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tribes like their own and despising the rest of the world. They are the *'Arab al 'ariba* and with their co-equals the *'Arab al Musta'riba*.* 619 565

These 'Arab or pure desert Badawin divide themselves into:

(*a*) Superior or Sharîf tribes.

(*b*) Inferior or non-Sharîf tribes; everyone knowing and accepting the origin of his neighbour without question.

Of these the former are *'Asîla*; i.e. pure in origin and blood, and claim descent from the Patriarchs Qahtan and Ishmael. The latter are not *Asîl*, i.e. are not of pure descent.

The following are the best known of the Sharîf Arab tribes of Arabia proper:

'Anizah, Shammar, Harb, Murair, 'Ajman, Dhafir, Banî Khâlid Banî Hâjir, Al Murra, Qahtan, 'Utaiba, Duwasir, Manasir, Banî Yas, Sbei, Qawasim, Hawaitat and Banî Tamim (not found as a whole tribe to-day).

The 'Anizah especially consider themselves to be the aristocrats of the desert, though the others do not always admit their superiority.

The following well-known present-day Arab Rulers claim descent as follows: [643]

His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud—'Anizah (Masalikh section).
His Highness Ibn Sabah of Kuwait—'Anizah (Amarat section).
His Highness Ibn Khalifah of Bahrain—'Anizah (Amarat section).
His Excellency Ibn Thani of Qatar—Banî Tamim.

Also the noble family of the Al Sa'adun, former Rulers of the Muntafiq (present head His Excellency 'Abdullah Beg al Falah Pasha) claim direct descent from the Quraish tribe, as well as being descendants of the Prophet Muhammad.†

The following are some of the Inferior or Non-Sharîf tribes of Arabia proper:

* Arab historians have it that YARAB, the son of QAHTAN, who lived some centuries before Abraham, was the father of the ancient Arab peoples, and gave his name to Arabia. Hence the descendants of Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar, are known as *"Arab al Musta'riba"* (those who became Arabs) in contradistinction to the Arab who calls himself *'Arab al 'ariba* (Arab of the Arabs), to distinguish himself from the latter comers. 174

† The Sa'adun indeed claim that they are the purest of all descendants of the Prophet, in that they have never throughout their history given their daughters outside their clan, nor married with non-Sa'adun women.

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565 619 [142] [141] In cast of countenance they would appear to be definitely non-Arab, and have none of the pronounced Semitic features of the latter. In areas like Kuwait and Zubair, where they always maintain a large permanent camp outside the city walls, they are sometimes taken by Europeans for ordinary Badawin. This is a bad mistake and leads at times to awkward situations.

552 575 No Arab can marry a Sulubba girl. He would be killed by his people if he did, and she also. Nevertheless, I have heard it said that the Amir Fawaz of the Ruwala has no compunction in taking a pretty Sulubba maiden into the desert and keeping her as his mistress. For this he is roundly cursed by all good Badawin.

622 565 619 Most Sulubba settlements have their headmen, but where they are in strength among the major tribes of Arabia they have their shaikhs, some of whom own large flocks and herds of camels and are up to a point highly respected.

For instance:

Shaikh Hamad ibn Sherrour is the Shaikh of the Murair Sulubba.
Shaikh Muraiji al Safi is the Shaikh of the Shammar Sulubba.
Shaikh Muhammad ibn Jilad is the Shaikh of the Amarat Sulubba.
Shaikh Mu'aibid is the Shaikh of the Ruwala Sulubba.

291 The Sulubba women never veil and rarely wear a *milfa* over the lower part of their faces. Hence in Najd they are at once recognisable.

535 They are very fond of dancing, and on any feast day or at a marriage ceremony, the first thing they do is to organise a dance. This takes the form of men and women dancing together (a highly disgraceful and unseemly thing among Arabs), at which the men every now and then kiss their partners on the mouth and before the audience.

619 The Sulubba has among his ceremonies, dances, etc., the strange custom of hoisting a cross made from two pieces of wood tied together in the form of a Christian emblem. It may be called his tribal mark or standard.

565 619 174 Well-read Arabs, like Shaikh 'Abdullah Salim al Subah, cousin of the Shaikh of Kuwait, and others, say quite definitely that the Sulubba are descendants of the large number of Crusader camp followers, who were taken captive during the Crusade and Saracen wars; that vast numbers of these camp followers were taken in several great battles

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Crusader Descent?

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in which the Crusaders were wounded, and were carried off into slavery by the desert Arab, and that the present-day Suhubba are their descendants. Shaikh 'Abdullah will quote to prove his point,

(e) The fact that the "cross" is the symbol of the Suhubba.
(f) That the plural of their name "Subub" is clearly the same as the Arab name for the Christian cross which is known as *Salib*, the word *subub* being merely a diminutive form of *Salib*.

There is perhaps something to say for the theory, but it would be dangerous to form conclusions pending the collection of more data about these interesting people. In particular would it be interesting to collect extensive anthropometric measurements.

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The Suhubba women are accused of having (i) the power of casting the Evil Eye (*'ain*), (ii) special knowledge in preparing poisons and love potions for those who want them (*sapwa*), and (iii) above all of being versed in the devilish lore of witchcraft (*sahar*).

(i) The first accusation is probably due to the fact that many young Badawin men have lost their heads over pretty Suhubba girls and have had to flee their tribes. (ii) and (iii) are probably fairly true accusations, for they certainly claim to have the power of making one person love another, as well as of divination. On the other hand they are a useful target for the public, if something evil happens to a prominent person. "It must be a Suhubba woman who has cast a spell on so-and-so", they say.

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The Suhubba must not be confused with the Kauliyah or Gipsies. These latter are to be found all over Iraq and its borders, and are, I think, without doubt one and the same as the Romany Gipsies of Europe and England. They dress like Badawin and live in small

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Muntafiq

Tribe Etymologies

Chap. XLIV

A GOOD WATCH-DOG

To make a Badawin dog fierce and a good watch-dog, his ears are 231
cut off when young. A piece is then cooked and given him to eat. This, according to the Arab, turns him into a good watch-dog and especially a good barker by night. (See Chapter IV.)

THE NUMBER ELEVEN

A curious thing about the 'Awazim tribe is that they never will use 801
the word *ahada 'ashar* for *eleven*. They always say *'ashra wa wahad* (ten and one). The rest of the numerals they name as other Arabs do. I have not yet been able to find out the reason for this avoidance of eleven.

Kuwait, October 30, 1935.

HOW AN 'AJMAN WOMAN SAVES HER CHILDREN

Among the 'Ajman, if a woman's children are dying apparently 741
without reason, a piece of the ear above the lobe is cut off from the latest born infant, placed inside a date, and given to the mother to eat. The child is then known as *Al Jida'* (the cut-off one).

Maneira bint 'Iyda al Fa'aran al Hithlain, wife of Hamad al Mishwat, had had this done. She showed me her ear on 16th August, 1935.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME DHAFIR, THE GREAT DESERT TRIBE SOUTH OF THE EUPHRATES

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The name means a "collection of many oddments", and is derived from the same root as:

Tadhafaru—they were plaited together.
Dhafar—to plait.
Dhafayir—a woman's plait.

Similarly we have Muntafiq from *intifaq*, a coming together.

Note.—This describes exactly how these two great tribes were originally formed. They grew out of a collection or confederation of a number of small desert units in the first instance, and of a number of marsh tribes in the second, under Sa'adun leaders.

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necks to passers-by. Their moral code, however, is high, and quite different in this respect from some of their Iraq riverain neighbours, the settled Ma'adan or marsh tribes.

HISTORY OF THE MUNTAFIQ*

1714 The tribal league, which may be said roughly to occupy the Euphrates
619 from Chabaish to Darraji and the Shatt al Gharraf as far north as
(677) Kut al Hai, is known as the Muntafiq. The link between the units of which it is composed is of the loosest kind, being no more than a common recognition of the paramount authority of the Sa'adun. This family, which claims descent from the Prophet and is therefore related to the Sharif of Mecca, emigrated from the Hijaz to Mesopotamia in the early part of the sixteenth century. According to local tradition, the southern borders of the 'Iraq were held towards the close of the 'Abbasid period by two large tribal groups, the Bani Malik (in the dialect pronunciation Bani Malich) in the Shamiyah, under Ibn Khusaibah and the 'Ajwad further north on the Gharraf, under the Al Wathal. The name of the first ancestor of the Sa'adun who approached their territories is generally given as Shabib. It is said that his son Mani, took to wife a daughter of the ruling house of the Bani Malik and was presently involved in a feud between that tribe and the 'Ajwad. The scale turned in favour of the latter. The Bani Malik were defeated with considerable loss in a battle in which Mani was himself killed, and forced to make their escape into Najd, taking with them Mani's son, Shabib, who was the grandson of their own shaikh. After three years of exile, they were reinforced by some sections of the 'Utaiba, one of the most powerful tribes of Central Arabia, and felt themselves strong enough to take revenge upon their rivals. Legend relates that Shabib ibn Mani came up to spy upon the camping grounds of the 'Ajwad, whom he found at the wells of Safwan, a well-known watering-place on the borders of what is now Kuwait territory. On his way back he took note of the stages of his journey and returned to Najd with a careful report of every halting-place, Wird, 'Azib, Fallahah, Qirb al Ma (water; waterless, sown land, near

* The word is correctly written with a *qaf*, Muntafiq [not Muntafik], from *'intifaq*, agreement. Pronounced *Mintifak*.

h Durham G-4 (1929-47) 1961 MS I Kuwait
Accession 3424
Myers p.9

174 water), and so forth, until he had completed the tale of the road.
69 Armed with the information he had gained, he led the Banī Mālik to Safwan, where they overthrew and almost exterminated the 'Ajwad, sparing only a handful of men and forty women, or according to another version of the story forty women with child. The remnant, whatever may have been its composition, took refuge in the Hawizah marshes, but returned after a short period to 'Irāq, where they were joined by the Budūr, who claim descent from the Ruwalah 'Anizah, the Shurāfāt, a tribe of Southern Arabian origin (Qahtan), and the Juwārin, long settled in Mesopotamia. Shabīb, by virtue of his relationship with the Al Khuzaibah and his military powers, had assumed the leadership of the Banī Mālik, and to him the 'Ajwad addressed themselves with proposals of peace. He demanded for the killing of his father no payment of blood money, but that he should be accorded the honours of overlord, that they should kiss his hand when they approached him, and that he should not be required to rise in response to their salutation. To this stipulation, which was regarded as an instance of high generosity, they agreed, and the Banī Mālik and 'Ajwad, united under one chief, made so formidable a combination that they attracted a third ally, the Banī Sa'īd, a tribe of the Jazīrah. These three formed and still form the Muntafiq league.

69 The three divisions as we know them are not tribes, but tribal
101 groups. The Banī Sa'īd, who are by far the smallest, appear to be the
221 most cohesive. Their district lies in little-known country in the
241 desert between the Tigris and the Gharraf. Though they own some
184 cultivation of the tail of the great canals they would seem to approach the Badawin more closely in their mode of life than is the case with the other two members of the league, and their constituents have the character of sections of a homogeneous tribe rather than that of independent units gathered into a confederacy.

619 The 'Ajwad are the least compact. Their country is on the Gharraf,
101 and the Euphrates above and below Nāsiriyah; they are therefore
293 much more accessible. They are riverain Arabs of the Shawīyah type (Shawāwī), half-settled cultivators and half-nomadic owners of
[342] flocks. They spend the late winter, spring and early summer in the
[241] desert with their sheep, leaving some of their number in the reed villages by the rivers to till the fields.